

# Washington Post's Policy: Fullest Possible Attribution

Benjamin C. Bradlee, executive editor of The Washington Post, issued the following statement yesterday on background briefings:

Over the last five years, the reporters and editors of this newspaper have become increasingly concerned about the use and abuse of unattributed information by the government at background briefings.

In theory, unattributed information given to the press by the government at background briefings enables the press to do a better job of reporting.

In practice, this is less and less true. Background briefings have become vehicles for the government to give its versions of the news, to use the press as a vehicle for its policy announcements and its political advantage without taking responsibility for what it is saying.

This practice has been true of every administration. This newspaper has long been a party to this practice. The public has suffered from this collusion between the government and the press.

We now are convinced that we have engaged in this deception and done this dis-

service to the reader long enough.

Therefore, it is now the policy of The Washington Post, in its coverage on government news briefings, to insist on public accountability for the public business.

We instructed our reporters to insist through every means available to them that material offered at these briefings should be on the record and fully attributable.

If ground rules are imposed providing for anything less than full attribution on the record, Washington Post reporters will immediately ask that attribution be made direct on the record.

If that request is refused, the reporter will seek attribution specific enough so that no readers can reasonably be confused.

If this request is refused, the Washington Post has instructed its reporters to inform the agency or official that the newspaper's handling of the material will be determined by the editors' judgment of their responsibility to inform the public. We believe that responsibility cannot be transferred by us to any public official or circumscribed by government edict. The Washington

Post believes that while certain circumstances may make full, on-the-record attribution impractical, the public interest is not served by permitting statements of policy to be made by government officials who are unwilling to be held accountable for their own words.

The decision whether to remain voluntarily in the briefing is one for the reporter's discretion. Under normal conditions he would remain and report under these guidelines.

Nothing in this policy concerns contacts with government officials and other new sources initiated by reporters of The Washington Post. In these instances, the contacts will continue on an independent, individual basis, under terms understood and accepted by the reporter and the news source.

# Post Criticized for Identifying Kissinger

By Don Oberdorfer

Washington Post Staff Writer

Presidential press secretary Ronald L. Ziegler and a Los Angeles Times correspondent criticized The Washington Post yesterday for revealing the source of official "background" statements regarding relations with the Soviet Union.

The article in question, in Wednesday's Post, identified presidential adviser Henry A. Kissinger as the source of a statement that the President may reconsider his forthcoming trip to Moscow unless the Russians exercise a restraining influence in the India-Pakistan conflict.

The Kissinger statement was made to five reporters in a "press pool" aboard the presidential plane returning from the Nixon-Pompidou talks in the Azores. Kissinger made his comments with the understanding that they could only be used by reporters without attribution to him or any administration official.

Ziegler said the Post story citing Kissinger as the source broke the ground rules of the encounter and "is unacceptable to the White House." He said he would begin consultations with the White House Correspondents' Association, wire services and broadcast networks to establish clear "ground rules" for future situations, including interviews aboard the presidential plane.

David J. Kraslow, Washington bureau chief of the Los Angeles Times and a member of the Tuesday press pool, charged The Post with "unprofessional, unethical, cheap journalism" in citing Kissinger as the source. Kraslow said Kissinger's remarks were not "dumped in our lap" but were elicited by the reporters on the aircraft "under the most intensive kind of questioning" and only after they gave assurance to Kissinger that he would not be identified as the source.

Benjamin C. Bradlee, executive editor of the Washington Post, defended the paper's handling of the story.

"background briefings." Bradlee said it was common knowledge that Kissinger was the source of the statements — which were reported in various ways by major newspapers, wire services and networks yesterday — but that the "ground rules" kept this information from the reader.

Referring to unattributed information from officials at background briefings, Bradlee said, "We are convinced that we have engaged in this deception and done this disservice to the reader long enough." He said the policy of The Post shall be "to make every reasonable effort to attribute information to its source" and to view unattributed information with "skepticism and suspicion."

In presidential travel and in some other situations, a small group of journalists known as the press "pool" customarily accompanies the Chief Executive. Their job is make sure that some reporters are with the President in all public situations, and to pass along anything they learn to the entire press corps.

The five-member press pool for Tuesday—chosen by the White House—left the Azores on Mr. Nixon's jet. The 33 other members of the traveling White House press corps—including British, Canadian, Danish, French, German, Italian, Japanese, Swedish and Swiss journalists—remained behind for three hours to file their stories on Mr. Nixon's meeting with Pompidou.

In flight over the Atlantic in the presidential plane, Kissinger came back to the aft compartment occupied by the press pool. There under questioning he made the statements about the United States' attitude regarding the Soviet position in the South Asia conflict. A summary of his remarks was then composed by members of the press pool and sent forward to Kissinger's compartment for his approval. The President travels in another compartment of the plane, but

Bradlee said yesterday that Kissinger was aware of the source of the stories which were being reported on all

The portion of Kissinger's remarks concerning U.S.-Soviet relations was marked on the pool report to "be written on our own without attribution to any administration official." Shortly after the presidential jet landed, major wire services distributed "urgent" stories on the matter.

The Associated Press reported that "President Nixon may reassess his plans for a historic journey to Moscow, it is understood, unless the Soviet Union begins to exercise a restraining influence in the India-Pakistan war." United Press International said "President Nixon will re-examine the Washington-Moscow thaw and his planned spring trip to Moscow, if Russia continues to encourage India's military drive against Pakistan, it was understood Tuesday." The AP and UPI reporters were members of the pool.

The CBS Evening News reported that Mr. Nixon "let it be known tonight" that he might re-examine Soviet-American relations if Russia does not restrain India. The NBC Nightly News attributed the warning to "the Nixon administration." The ABC News said "it's reported" that the President may take a new look at his plan to visit Moscow.

By the time press secretary Ziegler and the bulk of the press corps landed here in two charter jets about 7:30 p.m., the stories mentioned above had been widely disseminated. The pool report had not been given to the traveling press corps in flight, as is often the case, because of communications difficulties.

Shortly after landing, Ziegler began issuing statements on-the-record denying that any U.S. official was suggesting that Mr. Nixon was considering cancellation of his trip to Russia. (Kissinger had said the President might consider a change in summit plans; he did not say the President was already considering it.)

The Washington Post established a source of the stories which were being reported on all

news wires and networks, and identified him as such. Executive Editor Bradlee said he made the decision at 8 p.m. Tuesday.

The New York Times informed the White House in early evening that it would attribute the Kissinger statements to "a high White House official." The Times did so in its early editions and in later editions quoted Kissinger by name on the basis of public attribution by The Post.

Seymour Topping, assistant managing editor of The Times, said that paper's policy is to seek the greatest possible attribution but make its judgment on every story on an "ad hoc" basis. Topping said the non-attribution rule in the case of Tuesday's Kissinger story was "unacceptable" in view of the importance and nature of the material.

The question of "background briefings" — in which information is given the press on the condition that the source not be identified—has been controversial among Washington journalists for many years. Bradlee said yesterday that Post reporters and editors had become increasingly concerned about use and abuse of unattributed information over the last five years.

When Kissinger began his "background" talk aboard Air Force One on Tuesday afternoon, he was reminded that another of his recent backgrounders had become public when it was inserted into the Congressional Record by Sen. Barry Goldwater. Kissinger appeared to be irritated about that incident, and remarked—ironically as it turned out—that the purpose of doing the briefing "on background" was to prevent inflaming of the issue.

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Ex-Washington Post Editor  
Joins St. Petersburg Times

ST. PETERSBURG, Fla. Nov. 20 (UPI)—Eugene Patterson, 48 years old, former editor of The Washington Post, will become editor of The St. Petersburg Times next May, the Florida newspaper announced Friday night.

Mr. Patterson, a former editor of The Atlanta Constitution, will succeed Donald K. Baldwin, who will retire at age 55 under the newspaper's early retirement plan.

John B. Lake, executive vice president and general manager, has been promoted to publisher, a position vacant since the death of Paul Poynter in 1950.

Mr. Patterson is now at Duke University's Institute of Policy Sciences.

11 NOV 1971

## WASHINGTON POST NAMES PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, Nov. 10 (AP). — Katharine Graham, president of the Washington Post Company, today announced the appointment of John S. Prescott Jr. as president of The Washington Post.

Mr. Prescott has been vice president and general manager of Philadelphia Newspapers, Inc., publisher of The Philadelphia Enquirer and The Philadelphia Daily News.

Before moving to Philadelphia, he had been general manager of The Charlotte (N.C.) Observer and The Charlotte News.

A graduate of Williams College, Mr. Prescott, 44 years old, has spent his entire career in the newspaper business, beginning as an advertising salesman with the Baltimore sunpapers.

As president of The Post, he succeeds Paul R. Ignatius, who resigned last month.

**WASHINGTON POST  
ANNOUNCES SHIFT**

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Oct. 20 —

The Washington Post announced today that Paul R. Ignatious had resigned as president of the morning newspaper.

The announcement of the resignation said:

"Paul R. Ignatious, president

of the Washington Newspaper Company has tendered his resignation in order to become an independent management consultant.

"The company anticipates that a successor to Mr. Ignatious' responsibilities will be announced shortly.

"In the meantime, Mr. Ignatious will continue in his present post and will remain as a director of The Washington Post Company and has agreed to

act as a consultant to the company in the future."

Mrs. Katharine Graham, publisher of The Post, said in answer to questions that there had been no policy disagreement with Mr. Ignatious and that he had initiated the move to return to his work as a management consultant. Mr. Ignatious, 51 years old, had been president of the Post since Jan. 21, 1969.

He was not available for comment.

4 OCTOBER 1971

STAT

## DEGREES IN PARANOIA

## THE COLD-WAR COLLEGE

## BERKELEY RICE

*Mr. Rice, a free-lance writer, has written many books and magazine articles. His latest book is The C-5A Scandal, published in May by Houghton Mifflin.*

What do West Point, Annapolis, Colorado Springs and Boston, Virginia, have in common? The first three are the sites of the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force Academies. But Boston, (pop. 450) Virginia? That's the home of the Freedom Studies Center, which its organizers like to call the "Cold-War West Point" (see editorial: "Perfect Timing," *The Nation*, July 5). It serves as the headquarters for a vast and varied program of propaganda aimed at building public support for hard-line defense policies, increasing defense spending, and alerting the country to the menace of world communism.

It was supposed to be the United Freedom Academy, but the bill which would have authorized its establishment by the federal government never got through Congress. Backed by a group of conservative Congressmen in 1965, it reached the House Un-American Activities Committee, which approved it unanimously. The Johnson administration, however, along with the Departments of State, Defense and Justice, opposed the idea on the ground that it would duplicate and conflict with the work of existing government schools and agencies.

Though deprived of federal funds, the project's backers raised enough money from private corporations and foundations to get the Center started in 1966. This year they have launched a fund-raising campaign aimed at turning the Center into a full-scale "Cold-War College." A special appeal on behalf of the Center sent out by former Ambassador to Italy Clare Boothe Luce (whose Longlea Farm is also located in Boston, Va.) has brought in contributions from thousands of patriotic Americans.

While the Center still has no official federal support, it does have powerful friends in Washington. Its advisory board lists Vice President Spiro Agnew, Cabinet Secretaries John Volpe, Rogers Morton and George Romney, plus nine Senators (Mundt, Boggs, Harry Byrd, Dominick, Hansen, Hatfield, Long, Miller, Thurmond), twenty-eight Representatives and six state governors. Relations with the Pentagon are equally cordial. The Defense Department was instrumental in the Center's creation, and still provides high-ranking speakers and other forms of co-operation. At the Center's dedication ceremonies in 1966, the Joint Chiefs of Staff sent the Army's Director of Special Studies, an admiral from the Navy's Military Policy Division, a military color guard and a twenty-piece Navy band. J. Edgar Hoover sent his greetings, and President Lyndon Johnson wired: "You have my every wish for success."

One wonders how much President Johnson knew about this new venture to which he gave his blessing. The draft plan for Freedom

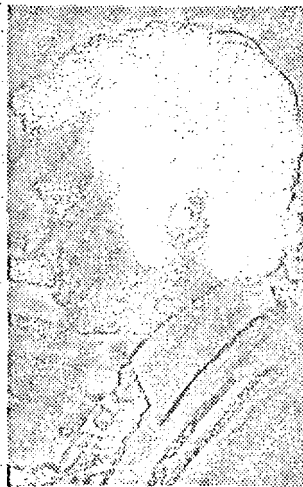
Lansdale, a retired Air Force general who would have become its director had Johnson not picked him to run the U.S. counterinsurgency program in Vietnam. In the draft proposal Lansdale described the Academy as a center of "psycho-political warfare," and saw its potential students as "men of good will who—if they just knew how—are willing to strike a blow for liberty. . . . Such a blow, struck the right way and the right moment, could well change the course of history in favor of freedom." Lansdale envisaged sending teams of Academy graduates to foreign countries at the request of local political leaders, or "acceptable third parties." These freedom teams would "assist with practical advice on how to resolve problems of concern to freedom." Lansdale was not specific about what such problems might be, but those familiar with his thinking feel he meant the "liberation" of Soviet bloc countries, and the suppression of popular uprisings in non-Communist nations.

If all this sounds a bit like a private CIA, it should. Major General Lansdale is a former CIA official. The Center's directors of education and special projects are both former CIA men. One of the first guest speakers at the Center was ex-CIA chief Allen Dulles. In the words of its president, John Fisher, the Center's purpose is "to fill the gap between what the government can do, and what must be done," which describes equally well the activities of the CIA.

Though his background in foreign intelligence is minimal, Fisher has had considerable experience in domestic intelligence work. A former FBI agent, he joined Sears Roebuck in 1953 to run its "corporate security" program, which in that McCarthy era meant rooting out suspected Communist employees, rather than guarding against industrial espionage. Fisher then moved on to the staff of the American Security Council (ASC), an industrial blacklist organization that keeps tabs on alleged subversives for the benefit of member companies.

Since 1960 the ASC has shifted its emphasis from the threat of internal subversion to external military dangers. Using its own influential newsletter and radio program, it has become a powerful propaganda center for hard-line defense strategists, with close ties to the Pentagon and Congress. In recent years the House Armed Services Committee has commissioned studies from ASC on Soviet nuclear and maritime power. Both reports unsurprisingly called for sharp increases in U.S. defense spending. ASC also helped to mobilize nongovernmental support for the ABM, publishing its own book in defense of the system. None of ASC's studies mention that its corporate members include such major defense contractors as General Electric, North American Aviation, U.S. Steel, Republic Steel, Motorola and Honeywell. In 1969, the ASC and its publishing subsidiary ASC Press, spent more than

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STEPHEN V. ARMSTRONG  
... disappeared Saturday

## Post Editor, 25, Missing For 3 Days

Stephen V. Armstrong, an assistant editor for The Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service, has not been seen since leaving his home for work on Saturday.

Armstrong, 25, was driving a yellow 1971 Volvo station wagon, Maryland license number KE 7387, when he left his home in Bethesda about 2 p.m. on Saturday. He was due to report at The Post, at 1515 L St. NW, at 2:30 p.m.

His wife told Montgomery County police her husband was wearing a beige shirt, brown corduroy trousers, beige cotton jacket and brown boots. He is 5 feet 10, weighs 130 pounds, has brown eyes, dark brown hair and wears glasses to drive.

WASHINGTON STAR  
6 AUG 1977

## Newman Probe On George Jessel Sought Over Gag

Rep. William H. Harsha, R-Ohio, says commentator Edwin Newman had unfairly censored comedian George Jessel during a television interview, and he has asked the House to investigate the incident.

Harsha referred to a conversation Friday between Newman and Jessel on NBC-TV's "Today" show. Jessel, with deliberate slips of the tongue, equated the Washington Post and the New York Times with the official Soviet newspaper Pravda. Newman told Jessel his remarks were in poor taste and ended the interview ahead of schedule.

Harsha said yesterday he had asked Chairman Harley O. Staggers of the House Commerce Committee to investigate the matter.

Harsha said Pravda is the Russian word for "truth" and said Jessel was "being sarcastic ... scornfully questioning the objectivity of the Post and the Times."



## Post Names Simons As Managing Editor

Howard Simons, deputy managing editor of The Washington Post, has been named managing editor of the newspaper, it was announced yesterday.

Simons, 42, succeeds Eugene C. Patterson, who resigned Monday to accept a position on the faculty of Duke University's newly created Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs.

A native of Albany, N. Y., Simons graduated from Union College in Schenectady and from Columbia University School of Journalism.

He was a Nieman Fellow at Harvard in 1958 and 1959, and a reporter and editor for Science Service in Washington between 1956 and 1959.

Simons joined The Post staff as a science reporter in 1961. He was named assistant managing editor in 1966 and deputy managing editor in 1970. In 1966, he won the Raymond Clapper Award for best Washington reporting and he has won three awards for his science writing.

Simons is married and has four daughters.



HOWARD SIMONS

... joined Post in 1961

13 JUL 1971

# Grand Jury Probes Times, Post, Globe

By Ken W. Clawson

Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal grand jury in Boston is investigating possible criminal charges against The New York Times, The Washington Post and The Boston Globe in connection with the publication of secret Pentagon documents on Vietnam.

Neil Sheehan, a New York Times reporter credited with breaking the story about the U.S. decision-making process on Vietnam, and his wife Susan, a magazine writer and author, were also named in the government's case before the Boston grand jury last week, The Post has learned.

Government officials have hinted at the possibility of empanelling an East Coast grand jury to seek criminal charges against those who conveyed and accepted the top-secret Pentagon papers along with Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, who has admitted leaking the papers to the press. He has been charged with unauthorized possession of classified documents.

Sources said last night that the government in utmost secrecy started its criminal investigation by presenting evidence before a federal grand jury that has been sitting in Boston on other matters since early April.

Two persons employed by different printing firms in the greater Boston area testified before the grand jury last week. Sources said the printers apparently were involved in copying parts of the 47-volume Pentagon study that ultimately ended up in possession of The New York Times.

The same sources said that Ellsberg was not involved in early testimony and that the government seemed to be concentrating initially on how the documents were duplicated and how they came into possession of The Times.

Two unidentified lawyers from the Justice Department's Internal Security Division and Richard E. Bachman, 36, an assistant attorney general in Boston, reportedly stressed to the grand jury that the criminal proceedings were separate in

themselves and did not conflict with the Supreme Court decision permitting the newspapers to publish the contents of the documents.

Secrecy of the proceedings was stringent, with U.S. Attorney Herbert F. Travers Jr. discarding the usual policy of making public both witness lists and the subject of a grand jury probe.

In Washington, Justice Department officials would not disclose the names of the internal security lawyers who appeared before the grand jury.

"I don't think I ought to comment on the comings and goings of our attorneys," a Justice official said. "Why possibly tip our hand?"

The sources said it was not immediately clear what sort of criminal charges the government is seeking. "It looks like a fishing expedition to me," said one source. "They don't seem to have much."

Use of the grand jury's subpoena power to compile information on the leaked papers was in line with beliefs of other government sources that the Justice Department will prosecute some newspapers and individuals if it can build a case.

These government sources said that Attorney General John N. Mitchell had not decided whether to proceed criminally when he left last week for an American Bar Association meeting in London.

The Internal Security division reportedly was charged with developing evidence to present to Mitchell when he returns on July 28.

The Justice Department's intention to prosecute was clearly stated July 1 when Mitchell said, "Since the beginning of the investigation of the Pentagon's classified documents, all avenues of criminal prosecution have remained open."

"A review of the Court's opinions indicates that there is nothing in them to affect this situation. The Department of Justice is continuing its investigation and will prosecute federal criminal laws in connection with this matter."

The mention of Susan Shee-

speculation that the government believes she may have been a conduit through which the documents passed to The New York Times. She has not been mentioned in any Times account of the incident. Nor is she identified in the new Bantam book, "The Pentagon Papers," based on "investigative reporting by Neil Sheehan."

Mrs. Sheehan is a contributor to the Talk of the Town column for The New Yorker magazine. She has written major stories on the Buckley women, Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis and Ethel Kennedy for the Ladies Home Journal and McCall's. She has also written a book, "Ten Vietnamese," through which she recounts the tragedy of the war on the people of South Vietnam.

Material for the book was gathered during 1965 and 1966 while her husband was a New York Times correspondent in Saigon. It was published in 1967.

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## Court Move Hailed at Washington Post; More Articles Due

By CHRISTOPHER LYDON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 30 —

Executives of The Washington Post applauded the Supreme Court's decision today and prepared to publish a three-day series of articles based on their partial collection of the Pentagon papers.

Katharine Graham, publisher of The Post, said:

"We are terribly gratified by the result in this historic case, not just for the sake of the press but for the sake of the public and the good of the country."

"It's beautiful," said Benjamin Bradlee, the executive editor, shortly after the Court's verdict was announced. "It's by far the most important thing I've ever been involved in."

Mr. Bradlee said that The Post had 4,415 pages from the more than 7,000-page study of American involvement in the Vietnam war. He also said that fresh material from the official study was still coming in from the office of Senator Mike Gravel, Democrat of Alaska.

"We don't yet know whether we've got access to the whole thing," Mr. Bradlee added.

The Post had printed two long articles on the secret Pentagon study on June 18 and 19 before being restrained by a three-judge panel of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

The first article dealt with American policy at the time of the French defeat and withdrawal in 1954, the second with the bombing pause of 1968.

Mr. Bradlee indicated this evening that the forthcoming Post articles, like the earlier ones, would quote from the original Government documents that formed the basis of the Pentagon analysis. The Post will not reprint the documents themselves, Mr. Bradlee said.

## Bar on Boston Globe Lifted

Special to The New York Times

BOSTON, June 30—A temporary restraining order barring The Boston Globe from printing articles based on its copies of the Pentagon documents was lifted today almost immediately after the Supreme Court announcement.

United States District Judge Anthony Julian, who had imposed the order last week, dissolved it on a motion from lawyers representing The Globe.

The Globe immediately retrieved its copies of the documents, which the judge had ordered placed in a vault until the case was settled.

Robert Healy, executive editor, said that The Globe had eight more articles based on the documents. "Everybody is darn happy around here," he said.

Meanwhile, The Christian Science Monitor, which was not under restraint, continued publication of articles based on secret documents that it acquired on Monday.

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Renato Perez

'Project X': Reston (lighting pipe), Smith (left), Wicker, Sheehan, Frankel

## A Great Sense of Elation

Some time in mid-March, Neil Sheehan, a Washington correspondent for The New York Times, was offered the Pentagon study and its supporting documents. The fact that it was Sheehan who was given this opportunity—a near-guarantee of a Pulitzer Prize—was no accident. A veteran of more than three years of reporting in Vietnam, Sheehan, 34, has won wide respect for his reflections on the political and moral implications of the war. In fact, at the same time the Pentagon papers fell into his hands, he was working on an examination of alleged American war crimes in Vietnam which subsequently appeared in the Sunday Times Book Review.

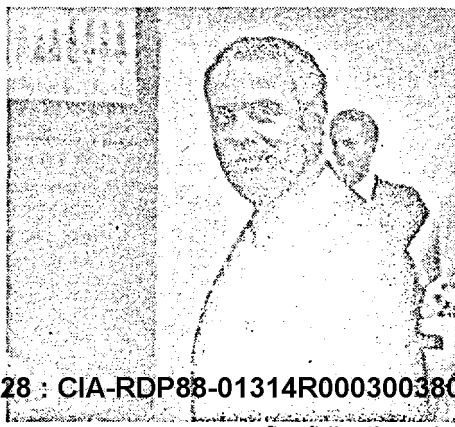
If, as Federal officials are now inclined to believe, the source of the documents was MIT scholar Daniel Ellsberg, he was no stranger to Sheehan. They had first met six years earlier at lunch in a downtown Saigon restaurant, and later, both in Vietnam and in Washington, their paths occasionally crossed again. But the actual process by which Sheehan obtained the 7,000-page collection still remains cloaked in obscurity. When he did get the chance to peruse it, however, he immediately realized that he possessed a treasure-trove of information of historic significance.

The top echelon of the Times—managing editor Abraham M. Rosenthal, Washington bureau chief Max Frankel, foreign editor James Greenfield and columnists James Reston and Tom Wicker—all agreed with Sheehan's assessment and strongly urged publisher Arthur Ochs Sulzberger to let them give the Pentagon papers maximum coverage. "The Times must publish this material," said one of them, "even if it turns out in the end we all have to go to jail. But for personable 45-year-old Punch—Sulzberger, who inherited the top job at the

Times after the untimely death of Orville Dryfoos eight years ago, it was not so simple a matter. Disseminating what were, after all, classified documents was certain to set the Times on another collision course with an already hostile Nixon Administration. And Louis M. Loeb, legal counsel to the paper, sternly warned Sulzberger against publishing material the lawyer considered "improper" for The New York Times.

What one Timesman termed a "furious, bloody battle" then took place between Loeb and editors Rosenthal and Reston. The Times's chief legal adviser, James Goodale, suggested that if the paper did choose to publish the archive, it could best be done in a single edition. The disadvantage of Goodale's proposal was that the Times would get less of a circulation boost from a single-shot effort than it could get by stretching the story out for more than a week. Its advantage was that by printing everything at one swoop, the paper could avoid the danger of a government injunction.

Despite the injunction risk, however,



Tony Rolto—Newsweek

Sulzberger: Rite of passage

continued

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